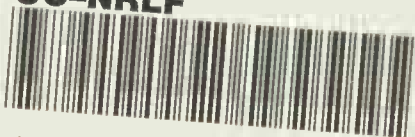


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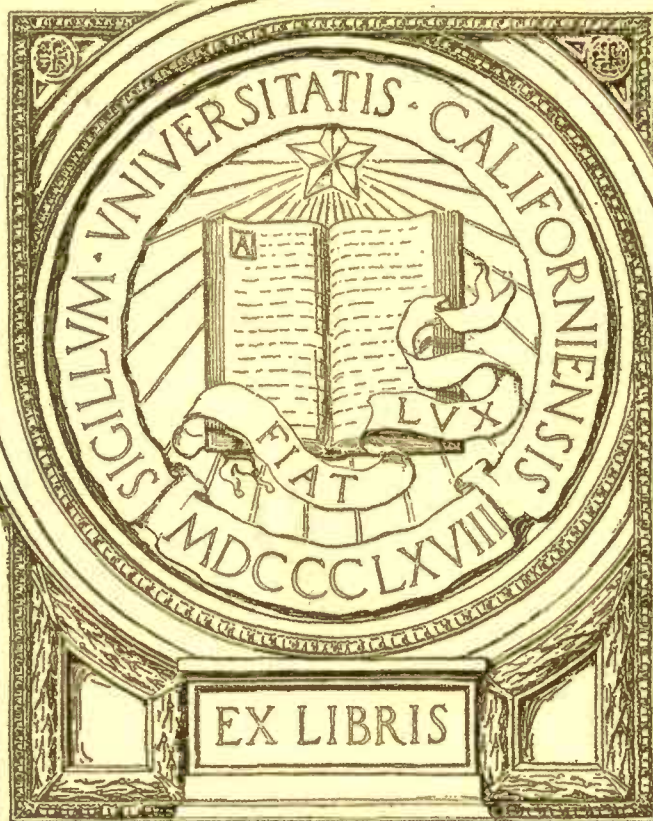


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War, Peace and Reconstruction

By JOHN S. CHAMBERS
STATE CONTROLLER



Sacramento, California
September, 1918



War, Peace and Reconstruction

By JOHN S. CHAMBERS, *State Controller*

The Legislature of California, which will assemble in Sacramento on the first Monday in January, 1919—the Forty-third Session—will face as vital problems, if not more vital, than ever a preceding body of the kind, in this State, was called upon to consider.

The first Legislature, which met at Pueblo de San Jose in December, 1849, and the Legislatures that followed during the next few years, sitting at San Jose, Vallejo, Benicia and Sacramento, had grave questions to solve looking to the establishment of the State Government on a wise and permanent basis. The Legislatures which met during the administrations of Governors Leland Stanford and Frederick F. Low were concerned with the issues of the Civil War and the period immediately succeeding the close of that great conflict. And in recent years, the Legislatures of the Johnson incumbency were called upon to inaugurate, in many ways, a new order of things, and particularly to pass laws along enlarged humanitarian lines.

But none of these administrations or Legislatures had matters before it of graver import to the people of California, and, indeed of the nation, than will confront the Governor and lawmakers before whom will come, in 1919, problems developed by the world war and by the peace that will follow, whether immediate or prospective. We must begin now to give earnest thought not only to the present, but to the future.

THE TREND TO THE PEOPLE.

California and the other States of the Union, as well as the Nation itself, are on the eve of great political, economic and social changes. The President some months ago, in a letter addressed to the leaders of his party in New Jersey, warned them that they would have to get away from "old slogans and traditions," and prepare to meet "vital issues" if they would achieve victory; that the American soldier who has faced death in Europe for his country would not be satisfied, on his return, with "empty phrases," but would demand "sincere thinking" and "genuine action." And not only the President, but many others high up in the councils of the Nation, without reference to party, have read the signs of the times, have visualized the future and admonished their countrymen of the new order of things even now under way.

Paralleling a world made safe for democracy, will be the strengthening of democratic government within each nation. And this will mean the enlargement of "government of the people, by the people, for the people"; greater power, more privileges, and better opportunities for the masses. And I doubt if there is a State in the Union as well prepared to adjust itself to the new conditions as they develop as is California. This is due to the advanced humanitarian legislation already on our statute books. Upon such lines, if the signs of the times be read aright, though more far reaching, more "radical," will the more important of our future laws be based, not only here but in the other States and in the Nation at large. The "radicalism" can best be tempered by recognizing the significance of world events, the part our country is playing in them, the effect upon our soldiers abroad and our people here at home and a determination not to oppose, but to propose, to recognize that we are facing a condition, not a theory, and, within reasonable limits, to cheerfully accept it and assist it.

How far the States go will depend, in large part, upon how far the Federal Government goes. As now constituted, the Administration at Washington undoubtedly would go very far. And while Federal laws have limited, or no, scope within a State, they are supreme as between States, and the influence of example would be very strong under such circumstances.

CALIFORNIA'S HUMANITARIAN RECORD.

How do we stand in California today? What has been the legislation intended for the better welfare of and greater rule by the people, especially in recent years? Among other things, we have the initiative, the referendum and the recall, the elimination of the judiciary from partisan politics, a direct primary law in place of the old convention system, suffrage for women, the direct election of United States Senators, strong laws for the protection of women and children, and for the safeguarding and advancement of labor, as indicated by the Industrial Accident Commission, the Commission of Immigration and Housing, the Industrial Welfare Commission, and so on. We have, too, the State Water Commission, the alien land act, the Land Settlement Act, as at the Durham Colony; the so-called blue-sky law, affecting corporations; the State Commission Market, the weights-and-measures act, the Rural Credits Commission and the Social Insurance Commission, both to investigate and report, and many others, all pointing the same way, some more effective than others, some more meritorious, some misunderstood, some generally favored and some opposed.

In any event, a distinct start has been made in California; the foundation has been laid upon which to build in accordance with changes the world war is bringing to pass, as interpreted by many of the nation's political and industrial leaders. Charles M. Schwab, the great ironmaster, for instance, declares that after the war there will be no aristocracy of wealth, but a new order of things, the brotherhood of man.

FURTHER STEPS ADVOCATED.

The conscription of idle acres is being preached with renewed vigor; the State Government is urged more strongly than ever to assist producers and consumers in really getting together that prices may be reduced; the public ownership of all public utilities is demanded more forcibly than ever; the farmer and the laborer, through various organizations more or less representative of one or the other, are insisting upon representation, as such, in various departments of the State Government; the "federation of all irrigation systems under State auspices" has advocates; and so forth and so on, from partly conservative to liberal, and from liberal to strongly socialistic.

We are face to face with adjustments of the gravest import. "Sincere thinking" and "genuine action" certainly are required, as the President has said; but that is not all. Intelligence, honesty of purpose, courage and patriotism also are essential. We are demanding enduring world peace and admit such a peace can only come if based upon justice. And so, too, we must proceed within the Nation and within the States, if we are to have social, economic and political peace at home.

PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE.

The greatest thing before the country today is the winning of the war. To that end each State, as well as each citizen, should contribute to the limit. No other issue can compare with this.

And next to it in importance is to meet, here at home, as they should be met, the problems the war has developed and which peace will accentuate. Particularly pressing now, and one that will become more so, is the problem of the medical care and re-education along vocational lines of disabled soldiers—men who cannot be made fit to fight again. And then will come, with the end of the war, the great question of the reabsorption into civil life of the millions of returned soldiers, munition workers and others who were engaged in war industries.

Let us briefly review, as to the first of these problems, what is being done in Europe, and then as to what is being done and planned in the United States.

EUROPE AND THE DISABLED—GERMANY.

In Germany, as in all the nations engaged in the war, the medical care of the disabled is distinctly a governmental function. Until the man is made as physically fit as possible and is in a condition to be discharged, he remains in the army or the navy, under military rule. If minus a leg or an arm, or both, he is fully equipped with artificial limbs by the government free of cost, and these appendages are kept in repair without expense to him, and, likewise, replaced if necessary.

But, in Germany, with the discharge of the man, the Imperial Government washes its hands of all financial responsibility. The re-education, the vocational training of the ex-soldier, is a burden thrown upon the people at large. Certain of the states supervise the work and a few assist financially, but in the main the various communities must meet the obligation. Likewise, the matter of placement, of securing employment, is not a governmental task. Yet despite this lack of unity in system, or of central control, the work is well done. Another illustration of the wisdom of preparedness. Out of her industrial situation, Germany learned a great lesson. So came hospital development and an adequate employment system.

ENGLAND'S WAY.

In England, the disabled soldier and his family are cared for by the government, not only while he is under medical treatment, but also during the period of occupational training. And through a comprehensive national system of employment bureaus the problem of placement is solved as far as practicable.

THE FRENCH METHOD.

In France, after physical rehabilitation has been accomplished as far as it can be, the vocational re-education passes into the hands of schools, either owned by individuals, corporations or public bodies, but all under national supervision and aided financially by the state. The family of the soldier, in the meantime, continues to draw his governmental allowance, or, if a pension has been granted, to live upon it, any loss as between the pension and allowance being made up by the government. Placement is fairly well looked after by a department of the government which keeps in touch with employers and laborers.

HOW IT IS DONE IN ITALY.

In Italy the system resembles that of France, but there are not enough vocational schools or sufficient equipment in many of them. The government has been lax in this regard,

but is awakening to the necessity of action. Those who seek re-education must remain under army control for a minimum period of six months. In Italy re-education is an especially serious problem, since eighty per cent of the soldiers are peasants with no background of experience.

CANADA AND THE WOUNDED.

Up in Canada, our great neighbor on the north, the medical care of disabled soldiers and sailors is in charge of a high-class committee named by the government. Vocational education is left, largely, to the provinces and communities, while the work of placement is practically entirely left to local effort. Great consideration is shown the men by the Dominion Government. When a soldier is discharged from the hospital, the committee at his home town is immediately notified, and if the trip is a long one, committees along the route, at selected points, are requested to show him every attention.

VOCATIONAL RE-EDUCATION.

In Germany, the vocational re-education of the disabled soldier begins, where practicable, in the hospital while he is still under medical treatment and military control. This is due largely to the fact that the government refuses to bear any part of the cost of occupational training after the man's discharge, and so the communities seek to cut down this expense by beginning instruction as soon as the military doctors permit.

In England, France and Italy this plan is not followed generally. There is a difference of opinion as to the wisdom of it. Yet if not undertaken too soon, if held within bounds, the policy would seem to be commendable as tending to hasten the recovery of the patient by diverting his mind from his misfortune, and likewise to hasten the time when he can again become a useful member of the civil community.

The policy in Europe is to base a man's re-education upon his past occupation, as far as practicable, and to have him return to his former community, among relatives, friends and acquaintances. While a discharged soldier, free of military rule, cannot be forced to undergo re-education, every inducement in reason is held out to persuade him to do so. He is urged not to be content to eke out an existence upon his pension, but to continue to play the part of a man; to produce as well as consume.

OPPORTUNITY, NOT CHARITY.

The nations no longer follow the policies of the past. They recognize their duty to the injured soldier, and the sol-

dier's duty to them. The movement is all away from the old soldiers' homes, inactivity, charity, the peddling of pencils and shoestrings, and toward private homes, activity, self-respect, the building up of man that he can do his part in building up the nation. National pride and gratitude, as well as national economy, call for rehabilitation. The governments must stand prepared to do their parts. And the American ex-soldier, despite more or less disappointment to date in European countries, it is believed, can be counted upon, very generally, to do his part—to recognize both his duty and his opportunity.

But the opportunity should be in evidence. Time should not be lost between the ending of medical treatment and the beginning of vocational re-education. Habits that might come from idleness, pampering by the family and over-attention by the local public should not be given a chance. The disabled soldier is a hero now, but as time passes the glamour will go. History and human nature tell us this. For his own sake as well as the country's the returned soldier should be started right without loss of time.

WHAT IS AMERICA DOING?

And how is America meeting or preparing to meet the problems of medical treatment, vocational re-education and placement? The Federal Government must lead and the State Governments follow. We may rest assured that in the matter of hospital care and medical attention nothing will be left undone by our Government, that no nation in Europe will do more for its disabled soldiers. Our State Governments, as such, will take no direct part in this great work. The men will still be under military rule.

But with the discharge of the soldier as physically fit to re-enter civil life, comes the question of his future. The opportunity then will be presented to the states of working with the Federal Government along re-educational and placement lines, or of taking up the task where the latter lays it down. What the soldier will seek, and what the people should be prepared to give him, is not charity but opportunity. In Germany, the government says: "There is no such thing as a cripple if the will exists in the man to overcome his disability"; that soldiers discharged from the army because no longer fit to fight must be distributed among the people "as though nothing had happened." This policy is wise, economically. It is for the best interest of society and the men themselves. But it should be carried out in a humane manner and not with German ruthlessness.

TWO REHABILITATION ACTS.

Congress has passed two important acts to provide for the re-education and placement of disabled men of the military and naval service. The laws are closely related, although one includes civilians and was under consideration before we entered the war. The first of these measures to be passed is known as the Smith-Hughes Act, and the second as the Smith-Sears Act.

The latter, which I will discuss more in detail further along, is based on the theory that inasmuch as the number of disabled men will not fall upon the various states proportionately, according to the number of men enlisted or drafted from each, therefore the Federal Government, in equity, should assume, as far as practicable, the burden of rehabilitation, and cover the cost by general taxation.

THE SMITH-HUGHES ACT.

Realizing, however, that this great work could best be done in conjunction with the state governments, and, in fact, that the latter are as much concerned in the task of social re-establishment as is the Federal Government, Congress also enacted, or, to be accurate, amplified, the Smith-Hughes law. As far back as 1909, the theory underlying this measure was approved, and a bill introduced in Congress. In 1913 legislation was enacted as applied to agriculture. But it was not until February, 1917, that the present law became effective, and not until July of that year, after we had entered the war, that the Vocational Education Board, charged with the administration of the act, began operations. Originally intended to meet a disquieting situation in the nation, then at peace, it now fits in most encouragingly in working out the problem of the re-education and placement of the men who have fought their country's battles.

In brief, the Smith-Hughes Act provides a scheme of co-operation between the Federal Government and the States for the promotion of vocational education in fields of agriculture, trade, home economics and industry—along lines of common, wage-earning employment.

The Federal Government does not undertake the organization and immediate direction of vocational training in the states, but will closely supervise the work and from year to year make financial contributions for its support, giving dollar for dollar as each state gives, within the limit of its own appropriation as fixed by law.

The money set aside by Congress for this purpose is based on a graduated scale, the amount increasing year by year up to

1926, when the maximum will be reached. This maximum will then become the annual appropriation by the Federal Government thereafter, to continue indefinitely. The total grant for the fiscal year of 1917-18 was \$1,860,000 and for 1925-26 will be \$7,367,000. The contribution by the states will double this amount, or a grand total of nearly \$15,000,000; as of that year, for example. The appropriation is solely for the salaries of teachers, supervisors and directors, and it is obvious, therefore, that other large sums of money will be required for buildings, equipment and many other purposes. Each state which desires to co-operate with the Federal Government, must name a Vocational Education Board of three members to carry on the work.

THE SMITH-SEARS ACT.

The Smith-Sears Act provides for the "vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States." This is applicable to any such person entitled, after discharge, to compensation under the act creating the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance. Any such person is entitled not only to free instruction but to "receive monthly compensation equal to the amount of his monthly pay for the last month of his active service," or equal to the compensation due him, "whichever amount is the greater." The training is not compulsory. The soldier, sailor, marine or aviator may "elect" to take it, or not, as he pleases.

In the matter of occupational re-education, it cannot "be carried on in any hospital until the medical authorities certify that the condition of the patient is such as to justify such teaching."

Among the duties of the Federal Board of Vocational Education—the body charged with the duty of putting this law into effect—is the studying of employment problems, and "to provide for the placement of rehabilitated persons in suitable or gainful occupations," to utilize the facilities of the Department of Labor and otherwise avail itself of all agencies that will assist to the end desired.

The act carries an appropriation of \$2,000,000. Of this sum, \$250,000 may be used for renting and remodeling buildings, repairing and equipping same; \$545,000 for the preparation and salaries of instructors, supervisors and other experts; \$250,000 for the traveling expenses of disabled persons, subsistence and so on; \$545,000 for tuition; \$45,000 for placement and supervision after placement; \$55,000 for studies, investigations, reports, etc.; \$110,000 for miscellaneous contingencies, special appliances and so on; and \$200,000 for administrative expenses, salaries, traveling, rent, equipment of offices, postage and so forth and so on.

THE STATES MUST HELP.

While the main idea underlying the enactment of the Smith-Sears Act, as already pointed out, is that the Federal Government, as a matter of equity, shall provide and pay for the vocational education of the disabled men, it is clear that the appropriation of \$2,000,000 will not furnish sufficient money for the purpose, and so it will have to be augmented from time to time by Congress, or else the states must assist.

Since the Smith-Hughes Act merely calls for co-operation in the matter of providing funds for the payment of salaries, a very wide gap is left, and presumably the task of supplying buildings, equipment and so on will fall upon the states. It may be that along this line the states will find their best opportunity for endeavor and co-operation. In any event, it is obvious that the states must aid, liberally and intelligently, in the work of re-education and placement. The immediate problem is to ascertain how best this co-operation can be brought about.

The forty-eight states are now co-operating under the terms of the Smith-Hughes Act. For the fiscal year 1918-19, New York will receive the largest allotment, the amount being \$226,343.14, while California will receive \$58,021.64. The total of the government's allotment is \$2,307,460.44. Multiply this by two, and the grand total available will be obtained, on the dollar-for-dollar basis, or \$4,614,920.88.

In Massachusetts the legislative body has passed, or will do so, a bill establishing a "Division of the Board of Education for the Training and Instruction of Disabled Soldiers and Sailors and to Authorize the Federal Government to use State Institutions and Resources." That organization may be effected, \$10,000 will be made immediately effective, and the General Court is authorized to set aside further money for this work as the needs arise.

CALIFORNIA TO DATE.

California is co-operating as far as practicable, but inasmuch as the Legislature of this State has not met since the spring of 1917, nothing, of course, has been done along legislative lines. The State Board of Control and the State Controller, who are in charge of the emergency fund, have met, as far as legal and practicable, the war requests of the Federal Government, as in the food control campaign, alien enemy work, and so forth and so on. But nothing material has been done looking to the re-education of soldiers and sailors and their placement when ready to enter civil life again.

The problem calls for the most earnest consideration by the Governor and the Legislature of 1919. California must stand ready, must be prepared, to do her part sanely and generously. Legislation providing for the fullest co-operation with the Federal Government must be enacted, and also for placing the State Government in a position to go beyond this joint action in the care, education and placement of men disabled in the service of their country.

MUST LOOK BEYOND 1919.

But this is by no means all. Inasmuch as the war may be over before the legislative session of 1921, the Legislature of 1919 must give thought, and must act, looking forward to the time when the soldiers and sailors, not disabled, are discharged from the military and naval service of the Nation, ready to return to civil life, together with hundreds of thousands of others who have been engaged in strictly war industries and whose occupations, with the coming of peace, will be gone. These men must be taken back into the ordinary walks of life with as little disturbance of business and labor conditions as possible. Undoubtedly, the process of disarmament will be slow, and this delay will aid considerably in meeting the issue of reabsorption. But at best, the problem will prove a tremendous one.

Old positions have been filled, co-ordinated, or abolished. The exigencies caused by war have developed new ways of doing things, as the successful employment of women in many lines of work heretofore thought to belong to men only; or have shown that some things need not be done at all. In the great majority of instances, the returned fighters must make a new start, must begin all over again the "earning of livings" for themselves and their families.

There will be two classes of people to reckon with after the war, declared Lloyd George, recently. The millions who faced death daily and those at home who were racked by anxiety, will have their vision broadened, will be wiser and better. But against them are the other millions who have endured all sorts of wretchedness, pain and terror, and "who have made up their minds to have a good time for the rest of their lives when the war is over." The issue is not a local one, although each State of the Union can and must aid, nor is it wholly national; it is international. The entire civilized world is involved. Not only must the world be made safe for democracy, but democracy must be made safe for the world. To this end, every governmental unit must strive.

AMERICAN PROBLEMS.

We of America have been spared the horrors that have come upon the people of Belgium, France, Russia, Servia, Rumania, Poland and even England and Germany; but while we face a different situation, and our problems may not be as acute, still the readjustment that must take place in the United States after the end of the war will be fraught with very grave peril to the Nation and will call for the highest statesmanship.

The President, his advisers and others, with the good of the country at heart, have given and are giving very earnest thought to the future. Secretary of the Interior Lane is planning to ask legislation by which the arid lands of the West, the cut-over lands of the Northwest and the swamp lands of the Middle West and South can be reclaimed, and the returned soldier, sailor and war industry worker be given a preferred status in the allotment upon easy terms, with the opportunity to assist in the construction of irrigation projects and so on, thus being paid for his labor while developing his farm. Much of this land is in private ownership, and non-productive at the present time, from a variety of causes. Legislation not only upon the part of the Federal Government will be required, but also by the states, before the plan in view can be put into full execution. Co-operation will be necessary between Washington, the states and individual owners of land. And in addition, there are the more fertile acres held in great tracts by wealthy owners, and uncultivated. Will this be tolerated further in the face of a crisis?

WHERE CALIFORNIA COULD HELP.

Under the terms of the Carey Act, government owned desert lands, mostly in San Bernardino and Riverside Counties, so far as California is concerned, could be utilized, although their utilization would involve the expenditure of a vast amount of money. But there are numerous individual owners of large desert tracts, who, unable to develop them because of the lack of water and prohibitive cost of irrigation systems, would be glad to make arrangements with the State whereby, for instance, they would relinquish ownership of a certain proportion of their holdings to the State if supplied with sufficient water to care for the acreage they would retain.

We have in California, as already mentioned, a land settlement project under State law, as represented in the colonization work near Durham, in Butte County. Incidentally, Senator Hiram W. Johnson is preparing a bill along similar lines for introduction in Congress, to develop Federal colonization. This State law, perhaps, could be amplified to meet the desert-land

situation, or, if not, special legislation could be enacted, if deemed wise. And we have, also, our school lands, the property of the State. The best of these holdings are now in private ownership, but perhaps a certain proportion of what remains could be brought under water and made productive.

The development of idle acres would prove of double service in helping to solve the problem of readjustment. It would, first, materially relieve the strain in the matter of placing ex-soldiers, sailors and munition workers, and to that extent minimize the disturbance to business and labor, and, second, it also would increase production, lower the cost of living, strengthen the Nation's available resources, increase its wealth, and further guarantee the people against want and deprivation, whether due to war, drouth or other causes.

THE INDUSTRIAL ASPECT.

Along industrial lines the problem of replacement is more complicated. What will be the attitude of employers? What will be the attitude of Union Labor? In several of the European countries, labor is looking with apprehension, even now, upon the vocationally educated ex-soldier, who, though no longer able to fight, is sufficiently rehabilitated physically to earn his living by the sweat of his brow. Employers as a class are reported to be less concerned, but perturbed, nevertheless, over such phases of the labor problem as industrial accidents, workmen's compensation, and so on, fearing higher insurance rates, lower efficiency and added expense.

And if these questions are now arising, with only the disabled to be reckoned with, how acute will the situation become when the war is over and millions of men—soldiers, sailors and war industry workers—clamor for employment, for the means of livelihood?

And what of those who will want anything but work, the element Lloyd George fears?

HIGH STATESMANSHIP REQUIRED.

To repeat, the highest qualities of patriotism, statesmanship and humanity must be called into play to meet the issue. The civilized world is concerned. So, too, each nation, and each part of each nation. In the United States, while the issue primarily is for the Federal Government to meet, yet each state must do its part. California faces a great task. No Legislature which has preceded the body that will assemble on the first Monday in January, 1919—to repeat and force home this point—ever had a greater responsibility resting upon it—or a greater opportunity. Justice must be done to the returned fight-

ers and those who labored in the munition plants and in other work. But injustice must not be done to those not of these classes. The problem of readjustment will prove exceedingly delicate.

WAR AND THE TAX BURDEN.

It should be obvious to all that the cost of government in the United States, Federal and state, has been heavily increased by the war, and it is equally obvious this trend will continue while the readjustments that must take place after the coming of peace, are whipped into shape. In fact, insofar as the states are concerned, they will feel the burden more heavily and directly under peace than under war.

That there has been a tremendous advance in the cost of government, Federal and state, during the past two decades, particularly the last, is beyond dispute—an advance out of proportion to the increase in population or wealth, and probably income. This has been due, in large measure, to the assumption of new functions, particularly along social welfare lines.

But it also has been due, in very large part, to the lack of business efficiency in the conduct of government. Our various forms of government have not been developed along well-defined lines. They have "just growed," like Topsy. No vision-inspired man, or group of men, at the National Capital or in any of the states, in the beginning saw far enough ahead to appreciate the necessity of a comprehensive scheme that could be worked out with time and added to as the necessity arose, each part being in harmony with the others and all responding to the central idea, thus avoiding overlapping, unnecessary cost, waste of time and effort, and bringing about, instead, clearness, promptness and efficiency.

HOW IT HAPPENED HERE.

And so it has been in the State of California. During the sixty-eight years of the government's existence there has been little effort to eliminate or co-ordinate as the years went by, bringing with them new developments and new responsibilities. We have met each new situation more as a thing apart than as related to the governmental structure as a whole. And as a result, we have an edifice out of proportion, lacking unity of design, far too extensive, duplicating purposes, and unnecessarily costly in construction and maintenance.

It is very unfortunate, although natural enough, that the moment discussion is started as to the cost of government, the political factor is brought forward. This has been conspicuously so in California in recent years.

THE COMMISSIONS.

The cry against "commissions and more commissions" has been so loud and persistent, on the one hand, and so vociferously responded to, on the other, that the truth of the situation as to this particular development not only has become obscured, but attention has been diverted almost entirely from the fact that the State Government as an institution, as a whole, is urgently in need of very extended reorganization, affecting not only newly created units, but many old ones.

The functions assumed during recent years by the State Government of California are being discharged in the main by new commissions, of which there has been so much said in criticism as well as praise. These commissions were put on one at a time, much after the manner of the State Government's development from its beginning, and consequently there has been duplication, here and there, and other evils. But the legislation underlying them, even if not always put into effect along the wisest lines, has been largely humanitarian in purpose; intended for the advancement and safeguarding of the social welfare. And the result is that California today is better prepared to meet the situation that will come upon the country with peace than probably any other state in the Union.

But it is also true that the more efficiently this work is conducted the better will be the result. And there is no doubt that room exists, insofar as the new commissions are concerned, for co-ordination and elimination. The tendency to create new boards and commissions for the handling of new functions or the enlargement of old ones, as against the assignment of these duties to related existing agencies of government, has been very pronounced. Thus has come waste of time, energy and money. There has been a measure of truth in the attacks upon the commissions, and a measure of truth in their defense. Each side has been partly right, but not willing to admit it as to the other. So much because of the political considerations involved.

BUSINESS METHODS THE NEED.

What is required is an administration and a Legislature that will approach the matter—not only as to the new commissions but the entire organization of the State Government—in a broad, businesslike manner, free of partisanship, and with a desire to bring about real economies insofar as it can be done without loss of real efficiency, always bearing in mind the safeguarding and advancement of humanitarian legislation. And this will involve, to repeat and emphasize, not only much done in the last eight years, but much done in the preceding sixty.

A NEW CONSTITUTION.

What the State Government is in need of is a new constitution—a constitution brief and to the point, covering the fundamentals, and leaving other things to statutory enactment. But this, if ever brought to pass, will require years. There will be need of much preliminary work along educational lines, to say nothing of the time required to comply with the law relating to the submission of such a scheme to the people.

WHAT CAN BE DONE NOW.

In the meantime, however, there is nothing to prevent action by the Legislature as to co-ordination and elimination insofar as statutory enactments are concerned. There should be first, however, an investigation by trained men and a report made by them for the guidance of the lawmakers. And inasmuch as this situation has been made a political issue, such a report should have been laid before the public in the primary campaign, that the various candidates might have been put definitely on record. There has been too great an indulgence in generalities.

Our first duty, let it be emphasized, is to strain every effort to win the war, and as speedily as possible; our second, to make provision for the care of the returned fighters and war industry workers; and our third, to reduce the excessive cost of government, state, county and city—to curtail to the limit consistent with efficiency.

THE SITUATION IS ACUTE.

And if the necessity existed before America became involved in the war, how tremendously more necessary it is now!

To the unnecessarily heavy tax burdens we have brought upon ourselves, must be added those that have come with the war and which peace will intensify; in addition to the pre-war encroachments by the Federal Government upon several of the main sources of state revenue, and the only too obvious fact that these encroachments are increasing and will continue to increase during years to come. On the one hand, to emphasize the gravity of the case, the cost has been running up and will continue to do so even more rapidly from now on, while, on the other, valuable sources of revenue are endangered. There is no limit even to taxation. A source of governmental revenue cannot stand so much and no more. It is not necessary to reach the point of confiscation.

So we are in trouble, serious trouble, coming and going. The situation was bad enough before 1917; it is now acute. Patriotism demands that we meet it promptly and intelligently.

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